



Director of
Central
Intelligence

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National Intelligence Daily (Cable)

17 December 1982

~~Top Secret~~

CPAS NIDC 82-293C

17 December 1982

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USSR-AFGHANISTAN: Tough Policy Reaffirmed

An editorial in Pravda yesterday reiterated Moscow's determination to keep a Marxist government in Afghanistan and issued a veiled warning that the Soviets might pursue Afghan guerrillas into Pakistan or Iran. [redacted]

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The editorial stated that the revolutionary process in Afghanistan is "irreversible," in part because of support from the USSR and other Socialist countries. It repeated standard Soviet demands that the US and other countries guarantee noninterference in Afghan affairs before the USSR considers withdrawing its troops. [redacted]

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In addition, the editorial accused Pakistan of "inconsistency" in talking about a peaceful settlement while trying to use the situation in Afghanistan to obtain aid from the West. It also charged the US with using this situation to seek military bases in Pakistan. The article claimed, on the other hand, that Afghanistan is showing restraint by not using its "lawful right of pursuit" of guerrillas to their bases in Pakistan and Iran. [redacted]

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Comment: General Secretary Andropov apparently wants to signal that he will continue the principal elements of Brezhnev's policy on Afghanistan. The editorial reinforces reassurances to the regime in Kabul and tells Islamabad that rumors of a change in attitude are unfounded. It drops the moderate tone Moscow has been using toward Pakistan for the past year. [redacted]

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The timing of the editorial and the warning of possible hot pursuit probably are in response to President Zia's recent visit to the US. Moscow may believe that Islamabad ignored the opportunity to improve relations implicitly offered by Andropov when he met with Zia after Brezhnev's funeral. [redacted]

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The editorial also may have been partly intended to answer Chinese demands for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Nevertheless, as part of its current moderation on China, *Pravda* omitted the usual attacks on Beijing for supporting Afghan guerrillas. [redacted]

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POLAND: A Warning to Walesa

The detention of Lech Walesa yesterday was intended as a warning that he would have to abide by the regime's rules to remain free, but it also showed the authorities' concern about his ability to stir up workers.

Government officials reportedly used alleged irregularities in the financial accounts of the Gdansk chapter of Solidarity--which Walesa headed--as a pretext to detain him. Spokesmen for the regime emphasized that he was not arrested but only questioned for a few hours.

Police in Gdansk also briefly detained as many as 50 journalists and employees of Western news media who were trying to gain information on Walesa's whereabouts. The journalists were told to stay away from trouble spots. According to the Western press, the regime began jamming BBC and Voice of America medium-wave broadcasts to Poland last weekend.

A short official ceremony was held yesterday at the shipyard monument in Gdansk to commemorate slain workers, but the government later sealed off the area and used percussion grenades and tear gas to disperse two small crowds of workers. Civilian security forces circulated throughout the city.

Comment: The authorities clearly did not want to allow a precedent for Walesa and other union activists to claim the right to speak out. They almost certainly also were concerned about many parts of Walesa's message, which amounted to a call for renewed commitment by workers to a free trade union.

Whether intended or not, Walesa's determination to speak may help win back the support of union activists who considered some of his letters too conciliatory. He is likely to continue trying to convey his message to the workers.

The detention of Western journalists could portend the expulsion of those who continue to cover politically sensitive events. The intensified radio jamming may be intended to prevent broadcast of Walesa's statements back into Poland.

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SOMALIA: Siad on the Upswing

//President Siad's position has strengthened in recent months following the incursions by Ethiopian forces, but it is likely to become weaker again in 1983 unless he acquires new arms, develops support among more clans, and decentralizes the economy.//

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//Siad's difficulties stem mainly from his increased isolation from important clans other than his own during the past several years and from the ostentatious corruption of many of his associates. He has made fence-mending trips to several Somali regions but is unwilling to make fundamental changes in his highly personal and centralized political and economic policies.//

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//There is considerable enmity in Somalia for the narrowly based Somali dissident group involved in the border fighting and for its Ethiopian and Libyan patrons. This has led many of Siad's critics to ease their attacks on him. These developments and a slight improvement in the economy have given Siad more time to deal with long-term problems.//

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//Meanwhile, shipments of US, Italian, and Egyptian arms to Somalia have demonstrated Siad's ability to attract international support.

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Comment: *//Although the fighting along the border has died down in recent months, a continued stalemate without improved military capabilities probably will cause Army morale to decline again. Siad's position almost certainly will deteriorate if the Army does not receive improved weaponry, training, leadership, and logistical support and is unable to meet the Ethiopians on the battlefield with some confidence of success.//*

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//Siad will request more foreign aid and will try to build confidence in his rule among Western governments and conservative Arab countries. He hopes that Saudi Arabia will finance future military purchases, but financial constraints and longstanding doubts about Siad's political stability will limit Riyadh's response.//

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USSR: More Personnel Changes

There are well-founded rumors that Konstantin Chernenko--General Secretary Andropov's putative rival on the Politburo--has stepped down as head of the Central Committee's General Department. The Department is a key office that serves as the central staff for the Politburo, the Secretariat, and the Central Committee. In addition, TASS announced yesterday that Viktor Komplektov, head of the Foreign Ministry's USA Department, and Mikhail Kapitsa, a leading China expert, have been promoted to the rank of deputy foreign minister. Rumors of the impending promotions had circulated in Moscow earlier this week. [redacted]

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Comment: Chernenko's removal from the General Department would be another indication of Andropov's consolidation of power. Chernenko's replacement is rumored to be his deputy, but that probably would only be a holding action until Andropov designated his own man. Moscow probably chose to promote Komplektov and Kapitsa simultaneously to emphasize its evenhandedness. The promotion of Komplektov, however, may foreshadow other changes in the Foreign Ministry's management of relations with the US. [redacted]

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USSR: Major Speech by Andropov

The editor of the party theoretical journal has told the US Embassy that General Secretary Andropov will give a major address at the celebrations honoring the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation, scheduled to begin on Tuesday. Maverick historian and political observer Roy Medvedev says the speech will give an overview of Soviet history providing indications of the direction of policy under Andropov. [redacted]

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Comment: The 50th anniversary was the occasion for a speech by Brezhnev reviewing the USSR's historical development, its nationality policy, and its foreign policy goals. Andropov probably will also focus on these subjects. He is likely to voice support for further relaxation of tensions with China and to indicate interest in improving relations with the US, provided the US takes the first step. [redacted]

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WESTERN EUROPE - CANADA - US: Talks on East Africa

//West European and Canadian officials concerned with East Africa are likely to resist US proposals during consultations in Washington on Monday that economic pressure be exerted on Ethiopia. They have been reluctant to make an issue of Ethiopia's military actions or to tie development assistance to political preconditions. The EC's Africa Working Group last week reaffirmed the Community's evenhanded approach toward Ethiopia and Somalia.//

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Comment: //The West Europeans and Canadians regard Chairman Mengistu as a nationalist whose ties to Communist countries are more expedient than ideological. They fear that overt Western pressure would destroy any possibility of reducing those ties. The Italians, who are the Ethiopians' largest source of Western aid and credits, are likely to argue that the West should have a balanced policy toward Ethiopia and Somalia. The British, French, West Germans, and Canadians, while concerned about the Cuban military presence in Ethiopia, probably will also argue that threats to reduce aid would only make Addis Ababa rely more on Moscow.//

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ITALY-IRAQ: New Nuclear Cooperation Agreement

//An Italian Government delegation is to arrive today in Baghdad to sign a nuclear cooperation agreement providing assistance and training directly related to the reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel to obtain plutonium.

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Comment: //Despite the Italians' recent assurances to US officials that their nuclear assistance to Iraq will end soon, the agreement extends the relationship into sensitive areas such as reprocessing. It may include building four additional nuclear facilities in Iraq.//

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EC-JAPAN: Maintaining the Pressure

The EC, in an attempt to persuade Tokyo to ease import restrictions, is planning to bring Japan before an international fact-finding panel established by the GATT. The panel of third-country experts will investigate and make a ruling. If Japan is found to be violating GATT rules, the GATT council could authorize the EC to take retaliatory measures against Japanese imports. The Community had tried without success to resolve trade problems with Tokyo through bilateral consultations.

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Comment: The EC probably expects to receive little direct benefit from the GATT proceedings but may hope that keeping the dispute in an international forum will prompt the Japanese to loosen their import restrictions voluntarily. While the panel is unlikely to announce a decision for some time, the EC Commission intends to continue monitoring Japanese imports. It also will make prompt investigations to protect specific industries' markets when requested by EC member states.

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ARGENTINA: Antigovernment Protest

Divisions within the military government between moderates and hardliners are likely to discourage a strong response to the violent rally in Buenos Aires yesterday by some 100,000 regime opponents protesting political and economic policies. Both government officials and labor and political leaders who sponsored the rally reportedly met separately afterward to draw up their responses to the violence. [REDACTED]

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Comment: The turnout--following the successful general strike last week--will bolster the confidence of regime opponents. President Bignone will condemn the violence but probably will point to the demonstration as another indication of his commitment to liberalization. Others within the military, however, will argue against further political concessions until some agreement can be reached with civilian leaders on the terms of the transition to democratic rule. [REDACTED]

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Special Analysis

ISRAEL: Begin Under Fire

//Prime Minister Begin is coming under increasing criticism as a result of revelations from the Beirut massacre inquiry, growing uneasiness over his policies on Lebanon, and the strains in relations with the US. Although Begin's political standing has been hurt by these controversies, his government does not yet appear to be threatened by them. The Prime Minister seems determined to ride out the criticism, but he clearly is prepared to call for early elections if the pressure mounts. Recent polls show that such a vote would return him to office.// [redacted]

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//The warnings issued last month by the inquiry commission strongly suggest that it will at a minimum fault Begin, Defense Minister Sharon, and other senior officials for serious mistakes in judgment. The commission's findings, however, will not be issued for some time and will have no judicial standing. Their impact will depend on public reaction and the situation when they are published.// [redacted]

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//A finding of bad judgment by senior officials, coupled with the evidence of government confusion and poor communications that has already emerged from the public testimony, would damage Begin politically. It would be unlikely to bring down his government, however, unless direct evidence of Israeli involvement in the massacre were uncovered.// [redacted]

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//Begin's hardline policies in Lebanon also are coming under increasing criticism in the government. According to press accounts, 10 ministers complained at a recent cabinet meeting that the government's negotiating position was too rigid. Their opposition may have been behind Begin's dropping of his demand that negotiations take place at the ministerial level.// [redacted]

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///Other ministers have complained about Israel's growing entanglement in Lebanon. Two of them have publicly urged unilateral withdrawal to the 45-kilometer line.// [redacted]

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//Many Israelis also are worried by the increasingly tense relations with the US, and some are blaming Begin for needlessly aggravating the situation. The current controversy over US aid levels has convinced many Israelis that the strains in relations that developed last summer have not been repaired, and that rough times lie ahead, particularly if the US moves to implement President Reagan's peace plan. These Israelis believe that Tel Aviv's footdragging in Lebanon is motivated in part by a desire to put roadblocks in the way of Washington's initiative.// [redacted]

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Begin's Response

//The Prime Minister, who has been largely inactive since his wife's death last month, has not responded publicly to his critics. He apparently believes, however, that he can ride out the criticism.// [redacted]

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//If the commission's report is considered damaging, Begin probably will push for early elections. Most surveys show his personal popularity remains high. Moreover, his Likud bloc consistently outpolls the Labor Party.// [redacted]

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//The polls suggest that Begin could increase his parliamentary backing if new elections were held soon. Labor's inability to resolve its leadership problem contributes to Begin's confidence about his chances for a new mandate.// [redacted]

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//To pass a new elections bill, Begin would have to have the support of the National Religious Party, which has opposed early elections because polls show that it would not do well. If public reaction to the commission's report were negative, however, Begin could argue that the coalition has to support new elections to vindicate itself. The Religious Party would have a hard time resisting such an appeal.// [redacted]

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//Early elections also might prove attractive to Begin because he could argue that Israel could take no action on the US peace plan and other controversial foreign

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policy issues until a new coalition is formed. That process would take at least 100 days from the time an elections bill was passed and could easily drag on much longer.// [redacted]

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Possibility of a Labor Government

//There is an outside chance that the Religious Party may decide to part company with Begin and join with Labor to form a new government without elections. The Religious Party is undergoing a debate about its future, and many members are unhappy with the alliance with Begin.// [redacted]

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//One member told a US Embassy official recently that the party's senior leadership will leave the coalition and join Labor if the inquiry commission's findings contain "real meat." Such an unlikely move by the Religious Party probably would not produce a stable government or yield dividends for the party.// [redacted]

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Outlook

//The growing pressures are not likely to force any major changes in Begin's policies or bring down his government. Although he has softened some of his demands on Lebanon, Begin remains committed to achieving suitable security arrangements with the Lebanese and will not drop his demand that the talks have a political character and be held in Beirut and Jerusalem.// [redacted]

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//The Prime Minister recognizes that a substantial worsening of relations with the US is possible. Although this would add to his domestic difficulties, it would not alter his opposition to the US peace plan.// [redacted]

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